595
571 piece of small animal. a5 asks for part of it and a4 answers:
"Let your father give you his." These relationships bring about
856 a rather curious consequence: the young girls become independ-
595 ent more rapidly than the boys. They follow the young wives,
take part in their activities, while the boys, left to themselves,
timidly try to adapt themselves to the group but without great
success, and usually remain, at least in earliest childhood, be-
side their mothers.

857 [70] Considering now the relationships of children among
themselves, the most striking characteristic is the absence of
play. In certain groups (central and south), the children
manufacture, although rarely, small objects of rolled or braided
straw, but generally they know no other distraction than fights
or contests which they do together, and lead an existence
modeled on that of the adults. In fact, they carry on the normal
day of the women: in the morning, preparing the manioc, then
the cumaru nuts, bathing when it begins to get warm; when the
sun is very high, retiring to the shade, and before night, gather-
ing wood for the fire. Likewise, the girls learn to weave, they
walk around, laugh, sleep. The little boys do not begin to
play with little bows and imitate the male pursuits until much
later (from 8 to 10 years on). But all become rapidly conscious
of the fundamental and sometimes tragic problem of Nambikwara
life, that of nourishment, and of the active role that is expected
of them. They take part in the harvesting and collecting ex-
peditions with great excitement. In time of need, it is not rare
to see them seek their own food outside the camp, working to
unearth roots, or walking in the grass on tiptoe, a large stripped
branch in hand, to catch grasshoppers. The little girls know
what an important role the women have in the economic life of
the tribe, and are impatient to make themselves worthy of it.
[231 Thus, we find a young girl (b5) who tenderly carries a puppy
482] in the tump line that her mother uses for her little sister, and
we make the remark:

16. uainuttte ufkɔrage
She caresses the little puppy?

Her mother answers me:

uefkuatnore uainuetuikɔdeʔena tãitniene
The little girl caresses the puppy (because she wishes) to
raise it.

to which the little girl adds gravely:

857 iõndage ŝutẽnturu kajãno kajãn kajãn hõte kajãnde ŝutentere kuajkano (b1).

When I am big, I shall catch the caetetu, caetetu, caetetu, the monkey, the caetetus, I shall kill them when it (the dog) barks.

[868] She makes an error in grammar which the father points out
857 laughingly: she should have said tilõdage, "when I am big,"
154 instead of the masculine form she used. The error is interesting, placed in context, which manifestly shows a feminine desire to raise the economic activities reserved for that sex to the level of those which are the men's privilege. As the exact sense of ŝutẽntere is "to kill by beating with a stick or club" (here, the digging stick), the informant tries unconsciously to identify [71] feminine collecting and gathering (which can only aim at the capture of small animals) with the masculine hunt, armed with bow and arrows.

593 The relationships between brothers and sisters have not given rise to any particular observation. In the central and southern group, one finds a special expression to designate the brother of the same sex, nlaõre, "the other one"; this term is not only applied to kinship relationships, but also designates objects be-
[342] longing to the same type. Thus the five or six poles planted obliquely which fan out from the center, and which hold up the first skeleton of the hut, are called indeleaore; likewise, the
[534] double (kalõde) or triple (lutəndione) pipes or whistles. Friendly
857 groups are said to be "brothers" (1) also, and in discussions

1. See p. 92.

between adversaries they use the exclamation:

17. kakõtiane takənaãtiane (b1).

Wicked one! You are no longer my brother!

[192] which indicates that among the Nambikwara the term "brother" has the same wide sense which it possesses in our vocabulary.
857 But in the heart of the infantile society, numerous attitudes take
182 form which prepare or advance later relationships. The orphan baby a9 spends nearly the whole day in the hands of her young sister a8 (one is 2 to 3 years old, the other 6 to 7). Her sister takes care of her, carries her, feeds her. a19 and a20 (who are "mothers") act like elders toward these two children, in a way more marked than the real difference in age calls for. In fact, a8 and a20 are contemporaries. The eldest, a19, cracks bacaiuva

857 182 nuts for her sister a20 and eats them with her. When they are satisfied, they give the rest to a8, who cracks them, in turn, for her little sister.

857 The relationships between children giving each other the names husband and wife are more obscure, and we have not succeeded in forming a clear concept of them. We have pointed out a slight taboo exists concerning the expression of this kinship relationship. However, generally, the young "husbands" or "wives" do not manifest any special behavior toward one another, either positive or negative. Nevertheless, we have encountered indisputable cases where the young potential spouses conduct themselves as true spouses. In the evening they leave the family fire and carry burning pieces of wood to light their fire in a corner of the camp. The witnesses pay scarcely any attention to this action. For example, someone will make the remark:

18. uftnauri ufraire tiaahete ufrajena noreteuii etlftere (b1). The children are taking fire to make a fire, they blow to make flames.

[72] and the young "husband" says to his potential wife:

19. tadoõtakui nikuitũterani etʔere aituruui uatadahaki (b1) Bend down! Stir the fire, carry! Look (for more). Put it there!

857 After this, they install themselves near their fire and give 864 themselves over, insofar as it is within their means, to all the erotic acts that they have seen their elders practice. The incident is greeted by the adults with indifference, or, at the most, with amused smiles: uetnó taminusere, "there are the children having little sexual relations," they say in passing. We have only verified these practices in a haphazard way among the young children (5 to 7 years). They seem to be absent among those nearer puberty, but, in the latter case, a lacuna appears in our observations, due to the lack of subjects for comparison.

857 As regards strangers, the attitude of children is quite variable. 609 Certain ones manifest fear and hostility for a long time:

20. tauette ʔiina jaʔirina unjena (b1)
My child is frightened, he is ashamed, he doesn't move.

sometimes explained by a surprising external detail:

herakaloui ĩĩrena (b1)
he is afraid of glasses.

Others (or the same ones after several days or weeks of acclimatization) are curious, friendly, eventually mystifying. Thus,

857 609 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small animal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nʔiuɣenãghẽẽ nʔuɣẽeguedne (b1)
Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 157 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. [551] Almost all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an [224] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other animals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten, 231 262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehẽna uɾtte uɾkɔrage, "the woman caresses the baby," or uãinuẽtte uɾkɔrage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking, 482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they 231 521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [ie. From the children.--Analyst]

231 principal spectacle for amusement. One hears such exclama-
521 tions as:

22. jakhũninde ɾteru ɥirokũnene (b1)
The flying ants! He (the monkey) catches them to eat!

They talk to the monkey while giving him fruits: ɥosɾ, "take!" and as the monkeys live very intimately with the dogs, they laugh hilariously seeing their goings on:

23. hõte ɥãinde miramiraina hõte ɥairɾdniena (b1).
The monkey mounts the back of the dog! The monkey bites the dog!

and again:

24. kuɣarisena tãkɸlahẽ tãkela ãyorisẽ kãdaiena (b1).
It is balancing head down, head down it balances, it fell! (the monkey).

231 The children like to play at burning animals, and when
857 insects are involved, they are allowed to do so; but if they try
[865] to burn domestic animals by touching them surreptitiously with a piece of smoldering wood, they are severely reprimanded.

[74] THE GRANDPARENTS

603 We use the term in the classificatory sense, that is, the members of the third ascendant generation. In general, there are few—two in restricted group a1, five out of 75 persons in the enlarged group, three out of 31 in enlarged group b1 (in this estimate we do not include A1, a2 and a14, who can be classed as grandparents indirectly). This small number is
[165 explained, in part, by the very high mortality rate of the
887] Nambikwara, and partially also by the fact that aged persons, although participating in the nomadic life, do not move with the same mobility as the other members of the group, and are met more rarely. Whatever the case may be, the grandparents share the life of their descendants. The founding of a new family does not erase the ties between adults and their parents. We have underlined several examples while studying the phenomena
[592] of residence. Aged or widowed parents join the household of their son or daughter, either permanently or temporarily. Thus, in the absence of his son-in-law (A21) and of his wife (a18), A17 installs himself with his daughter (a22) and her baby (a23). She is the one who cooks manioc and cumaru nuts for the three.